

THE WASHINGTONIAN REFORM.

---

AN

ADDRESS,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

HINGHAM  
TOTAL ABSTINENCE SOCIETY,

JUNE 16, 1844.

BY JAMES L. BAKER.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOCIETY.

---

HINGHAM:  
JEDIDIAH FARMER.....PRINTER.  
1844.

## A D D R E S S .

---

FELLOW CITIZENS :

SEVERAL years have elapsed since I had occasion to offer a few remarks on the subject of Temperance, before the HINGHAM SOCIETY, at their annual meeting in February.

At that time the Washingtonian movement had not commenced ; but, by the undaunted courage and untiring exertions of the old Societies, the pioneers of the reform, the fallow ground of Intemperance had been broken up, and the field prepared for casting in the seed, or, as perhaps I should rather say, for reaping the rich harvest which has lately been gathered in.

Since that time, I have been a silent, though I trust not an inattentive or indifferent observer of the great revolution that has been going on in our midst. In reference to this revolution, as it may most aptly be called, I can adopt but the first part of the line in which Æneas, commencing before Queen Dido his account of the famous siege of Troy, speaks of the scene as one "all of which he saw, a part of which he was."

But though I have been rather a spectator than an actor in these scenes, and have no experience of my own to relate, yet I trust I need not apologize for attempting again to say a few words on a subject which although in its moral and religious bearings it may seem more appropriately to belong to those of other pursuits or a more sacred profession, is yet one of general and

universal interest, touching every member of society in his nearest and dearest relations, and in some of its aspects as much within the province of the political economist, as of the moralist; of the physician or lawyer as of the clergyman or professional lecturer.

The evils of Intemperance are physical as well as moral. They touch men's purse strings, as well as their consciences; they address themselves to the citizen as a tax payer, as well as a philanthropist, and would be entitled to his highest consideration, in their bearing upon his pecuniary interests alone, did they not as they do involve the far higher interests of his moral and religious nature.

The difficulty, nay, impossibility of saying anything new or striking upon the subject of Temperance has almost passed into a proverb, and has come to be so well understood, that no reasonable person expects now to hear much beyond a discussion of the usual topics of these discourses, certainly very little that has not been heard before, or that can claim much merit on the score of originality. The field has not only been reaped, but so swept that nothing remains for the gleaner even. And it may be added that the subject of Temperance has been so ably discussed; considerations addressing themselves to the reason and conscience of the hearer set forth with so much power; the horrors of Intemperance, the degraded and lost husband, the sad victim of his appetites; the broken hearted wife and worse than orphan children, have been so often held up to your gaze, and portrayed with such touching pathos, such thrilling, such surpassing eloquence, that few can now hope to hold the attention of an audience upon these themes, except those who are able to illustrate their discourse with some exciting history of their own personal experience.

Indeed, it has often seemed to me one of the most striking and interesting features of this wonderful reform, that it has raised up men, sometimes, as they themselves tell us, from the very gutter; men who have hitherto discovered but little more than ordinary capacity, and apparently in no way distinguished from those around them, who have been seen not only clothed and sitting in their right minds, from having been

the victims of a degrading vice, but who have started forth to move, and excite, and sway at will, large masses of their fellow men, with the most fervid and glowing eloquence, and a power which could flow only from a full heart, stirred by strongest and deepest feeling.

Demosthenes, it is said, declaimed upon the sea shore with pebbles in his mouth, that he might rid himself of some impediment in his speech; and in all ages eloquence has been studied and cultivated as an art, but we have seen men without the means and appliances of education, men, a large part of whose lives have been spent in the grossest sensual indulgence, until it would seem as if hardly a spark of divinity was left among the mouldering ashes of the awful conflagration—God's image even defaced and nothing, apparently, remaining but the most miserable wreck and ruin of what was once a man. We have seen, I say, such men starting up as it were by magic, and wielding an eloquence glowing and persuasive, and holding thousands in rapt attention to hear the simple but terrible story of their sufferings, dangers and final fortunate escape.

They speak right out what they do know, and this is the true secret of their eloquence. They have a great experience to relate. They are full of their subject. It has taken possession of them, and if I may so speak, been burned into their very souls. They have passed almost through the very shadow of the valley of death, and have come back to warn us of the fate they have escaped. Such men must be eloquent, and their's will be that true eloquence of nature that "snatches a grace beyond the reach of art." The names of many will occur to you whom this reform has brought out in almost every village in New England to illustrate the truth that on some subject every man may be eloquent; that just in proportion as he is filled with some great experience, and becomes in the words of another "terribly in earnest," he will be at no loss for ideas, or language in which to express them; he will have at his command both "thoughts that breathe and words that burn."

It is often said that this is an age of reform, and certain it is that the disposition to enquire into what are

deemed abuses, however hallowed by age or custom ; to try every system by the strictest standard of abstract right, is a leading characteristic of our times. Customs are no longer venerated for their antiquity ; but, on the contrary, it would almost seem that age and long usage had ceased to be a recommendation of a practice or institution, but had become a presumption against it. Society seems agitated and stirred to its lowest foundations. The keen glance of reform pierces every recess ; abuses, wherever they may lurk, are dragged to light, and judgment of condemnation passed upon all that bears not the test of the severest standard of what is deemed christian duty.

The Peace Reform, as it is called, commencing not many years since with our own Noah Worcester, the founder of all the Peace Societies in this country and Europe, has pursued its noiseless way, attracting but very little of the public attention, until it has, almost without our knowledge, reached a point, when it may be said to affect, to no inconsiderable extent, the destiny of nations. War is said to be a game, which if the people were wise, kings would not play at ; and the people are already becoming wise on this subject. They are beginning to see that a resort to brute force in the settlement of difficulties is in general as poor policy for nations as for individuals ; and it may no doubt be said with truth, that such has been the effect upon the public mind, of these societies, that a war has become less probable in any given case, either in England, France or our own country. Peace principles influence already directly or indirectly every court in Christendom, and number among their advocates no less a personage than Louis Phillipe, one of the most powerful monarchs of modern Europe. It may not therefore be extravagant to anticipate the time when a Congress of Nations shall arbitrate between contending powers, and an approximation at least made to that period in which the sword shall be beat into the plough share and the spear into the pruning hook ; when nation shall no longer lift up a sword against nation ; neither shall they learn war any more.

The abolition of negro slavery, too, is an idea which has taken strong hold upon the minds of the present

generation. This reform, commencing but a few years ago, with Clarkson and Wilberforce in England, progressed until the anti-slavery sentiment had become universal throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire, and finally was brought to bear in such an irresistible torrent upon the English government that it was compelled, at the expense of millions of treasure, to emancipate all held to slavery in the West India Colonies. The increased facilities of intercourse, together with our common language and origin, make it impossible that such an example should not operate with great force upon our own country, where this same reform also originated independently of any foreign influence ; and for some years, as is well known, we have had presses and societies, devoting themselves with great energy and zeal to the accomplishment of the same object here. Owing to the peculiarity of our institutions, the subject with us is involved in difficulties which were not encountered in England, and of these it is no part of my present purpose to speak. It requires but half an eye, however, to see that the current of public sentiment is setting strongly against the system of Domestic Slavery in England, France and the United States, and that those who still sustain and defend it, are finding themselves in the position described by a statesman of South Carolina, who, not long since, declared, that the people of the South were fast becoming girded in by the whole civilized world as by a wall of fire.

About thirty-two years ago, were organized, almost simultaneously, in the states of New York and Massachusetts the first Temperance Societies in this country and in the world. Here, too, as in the Peace movement, we claim to be the birth place of a Reform that bids fair to extend itself over the face of the civilized globe. Thus we react upon the old world, and while in all that pertains to the arts, literature and science, we are largely its debtors, we seem likely to discharge our obligations, in value, at least, if not in kind.

If England can boast of the intellectual treasures she has poured in upon us, in common with the rest of the world, we may be permitted to point to the great ideas of Peace and Temperance, first struck out on these

temperance; and it is needless to remind you that of many families the majority have gone down to a drunkard's grave.

The Washingtonian Reform is also in other respects peculiar in its character, and distinguished from all others which history records. In other reforms the action of those engaged in them has often been in reference to something external and removed at a distance, calling for no peculiar personal sacrifice or hardship on their part. Far otherwise has it been in the reform we are now considering. Here, men have commenced by reforming themselves, and that too by an effort only to be appreciated by those who know something of the trial. In all ages men have struggled against tyranny, and liberty has again and again triumphed over oppression and misrule. It is of such contests that the poet speaks, when he tells us that

"Freedom's battles once begun

Passed down from bleeding sire to son

Though baffled oft are ever won."

But when until now have men been seen organizing themselves for the far more difficult, and until the Washingtonian movement, deemed almost impossible task, of asserting and maintaining their freedom from a craving and insatiable appetite? To face death at the cannon's mouth were an easy matter, but who shall resist the gnawing worm of a thirst for intoxicating drinks, fastened upon him by long years of indulgence and become almost as indispensable to his existence as the very air he breathes.

We are taught to admire the bravery of those three hundred Spartans, who, at Thermopylae, opposed themselves to the Persian hosts. I look with far greater admiration on the courage of those men who have been able to resist the invading hosts of alcohol, a king far mightier than Xerxes; to throw off with Herculean effort the shackles of a slavery more galling and more hopeless than has ever yet oppressed our race; to strangle a serpent which had entwined itself in an hundred folds round its victim, and was striking its fangs

western shores. We may be permitted to point to our land's own Father Matthew, the great champion and apostle of Temperance, whose soul has been fired by this new revelation, whose name and fame have been ready extended over the whole earth, and who has won his converts not by thousands but by millions. The result brought about, indirectly, at least, by our agency.

Cities have disputed the honor of being the place of genius. To have given birth to a great movement, one destined not to gratify the tastes of a few, but to improve and elevate the great mass of humanity, may well be a worthy object of emulation to cities only; but to nations.

But there is much in the reform with which we are at present concerned, to distinguish it from all others of which we have any knowledge. In the first place, for its magnitude and importance, it takes precedence of all, and I am willing to go further, and to declare my belief that, taking the evils of war and slavery as they may be, adding to the list the ravages of pestilence and famine, putting them all together, such things could be measured or weighed, they would be found to make up a sum total hardly greater than the evils which Intemperance alone has inflicted upon the human family. We hear much said of fanaticism and exaggeration on the part of reformers, and that things do most certainly exist, for such is the condition of the human mind that men cannot dwell upon any great and exciting subject without exaggerate that it will become exaggerated out of all proportion with others of a kindred nature; but it is difficult to believe that the evils of intemperance have been exaggerated, or even half told. Language is inadequate to equate, and sinks under the attempt to depict in true colors the horrors of this vice. It is no thing that visits the race periodically or at rare intervals, but is ever present; present with all nations in every age, sparing neither age, sex or color. The high and low, the rich and the poor, are all exposed to its ravages. There is hardly a family in New England, or perhaps in our whole country, that does not number in its ranks at least one victim.



into the last citadel of life. With some rare exceptions these things had been deemed impossible, as well they might be, even by the most ardent friends of temperance, up to the time of the formation of Washingtonian Societies; and here commences a new era in the history of the reform. So far from anticipating what we now witness, were the early friends of this cause, that it had almost become a part of the creed of the old societies, that although the habitual inebriate was to be treated with tenderness and regard, yet such was the hopelessness of his condition but little expectation could be entertained of his reform; that while he was not to be forgotten or uncared for, the friends of the cause were called upon to exert their main efforts to remove the temptation from the path of those on whom the habit had not yet fastened itself. But a few short years have taught us otherwise.

The Baltimore Society, originating with six drinking companions, in an obscure bar room, then spreading over the city, and now shooting out its branches and covering our whole land, has taught us otherwise.

The Boston Society, with its twenty thousand members, one or two thousand of whom it is estimated are reformed inebriates, has proved, that no man, however low he may have fallen, is beyond the hope of redemption.

John Hawkins, the great file leader in this cause, a great and honored name, a name that will go down to posterity high, very high on the roll of the benefactors of his race, of whom, in coming time, the children's children of those he has rescued, shall speak—he has taught us that human sympathy is a charm that unlocks the avenues to the hardest heart; that none are so depraved and lost to all the better feelings of our common nature as not to hear and recognize its voice. He has discovered a moral lever more powerful than that of the philosopher of old, who would move the world could he find a place whereon to stand and apply his mighty engine of mechanical power. He has shown us a power which not even the adamant wall of appetite can resist, but which tramples on all opposition and moves on conquering and to conquer.

*within 4 yrs,  
only 10% of members  
of the Boston  
Washingtonian  
Society were  
reformed inebriates  
diffusion*

And what is of more especial interest to us the Hingham Washingtonian Society has demonstrated that the old may be reclaimed as well as the young saved. And most who now hear me will be able to recall to mind some interesting scene witnessed in a neighboring school house or church, where the young man was to be seen rising, and in glowing language presenting first the picture of his degradation and misery, and then that of his happy deliverance, by the help of his newly found friends and brothers. Where the old man, too, has been found, his head silvered o'er with age, relating to eager listeners the sad tale of his sufferings, recounting to his neighbors and associates, with unflinching nerve, in all its minuteness and particularity, the story of his shame, and making, at this late day of his life, a second Declaration of Independence. Surely there is moral sublimity in all this, and I accord most fully with the sentiment uttered by one of our divines, on a late occasion from the pulpit, who declared that the man who had thus risen and freed himself from such a terrible thralldom as that of intemperance in ardent spirits, who, by an inflexible determination of will, had changed his own condition and that of his family from poverty and wretchedness to comfort and cheerfulness, he looked upon with a respect such as he seldom paid to other men. He has come out victorious from a conflict fierce and desperate beyond the conception of those who know not by experience the tremendous force of this appetite. He has displayed an energy of will and a strength of character that entitles him to the highest consideration and honor from those of us whose whole lives may be passed without the exhibition on our part of any thing to compare in moral power with such a reformation. These reforms could have taken place only through the influence of that all powerful element in human action, sympathy. The co-operation, support and encouragement of society were also necessary. These things were at hand, and the unfortunate found friends to hold them up when in danger of falling, instead of tempting and seducing them, or perhaps affording them good counsel and advice, which though given with the best intention, yet failed of effect, because accompanied by no act, and too seldom coming recommended, by the example of the giver.

into the last citadel of life. With some rare exceptions these things had been deemed impossible, as well they might be, even by the most ardent friends of temperance, up to the time of the formation of Washingtonian Societies; and here commences a new era in the history of the reform. So far from anticipating what we now witness, were the early friends of this cause, that it had almost become a part of the creed of the old societies, that although the habitual inebriate was to be treated with tenderness and regard, yet such was the hopelessness of his condition but little expectation could be entertained of his reform; that while he was not to be forgotten or uncared for, the friends of the cause were called upon to exert their main efforts to remove the temptation from the path of those on whom the habit had not yet fastened itself. But a few short years have taught us otherwise.

The Baltimore Society, originating with six drinking companions, in an obscure bar room, then spreading over the city, and now shooting out its branches and covering our whole land, has taught us otherwise.

The Boston Society, with its twenty thousand members, one or two thousand of whom it is estimated are reformed inebriates, has proved, that no man, however low he may have fallen, is beyond the hope of redemption.

John Hawkins, the great file leader in this cause, a great and honored name, a name that will go down to posterity high, very high on the roll of the benefactors of his race, of whom, in coming time, the children's children of those he has rescued, shall speak—he has taught us that human sympathy is a charm that unlocks the avenues to the hardest heart; that none are so depraved and lost to all the better feelings of our common nature as not to hear and recognize its voice. He has discovered a moral lever more powerful than that of the philosopher of old, who would move the world could he find a place whereon to stand and apply his mighty engine of mechanical power. He has shown us a power which not even the adamant wall of appetite can resist, but which tramples on all opposition and moves on conquering and to conquer.

And what is of more especial interest to us the Hingham Washingtonian Society has demonstrated that the old may be reclaimed as well as the young saved. And most who now hear me will be able to recall to mind some interesting scene witnessed in a neighboring school house or church, where the young man was to be seen rising, and in glowing language presenting first the picture of his degradation and misery, and then that of his happy deliverance, by the help of his newly found friends and brothers. Where the old man, too, has been found, his head silvered o'er with age, relating to eager listeners the sad tale of his sufferings, recounting to his neighbors and associates, with unflinching nerve, in all its minuteness and particularity, the story of his shame, and making, at this late day of his life, a second Declaration of Independence. Surely there is moral sublimity in all this, and I accord most fully with the sentiment uttered by one of our divines, on a late occasion from the pulpit, who declared that the man who had thus risen and freed himself from such a terrible thralldom as that of intemperance in ardent spirits, who, by an inflexible determination of will, had changed his own condition and that of his family from poverty and wretchedness to comfort and cheerfulness, he looked upon with a respect such as he seldom paid to other men. He has come out victorious from a conflict fierce and desperate beyond the conception of those who know not by experience the tremendous force of this appetite. He has displayed an energy of will and a strength of character that entitles him to the highest consideration and honor from those of us whose whole lives may be passed without the exhibition on our part of any thing to compare in moral power with such a reformation. These reforms could have taken place only through the influence of that all powerful element in human action, sympathy. The co-operation, support and encouragement of society were also necessary. These things were at hand, and the unfortunate found friends to hold them up when in danger of falling, instead of tempting and seducing them, or perhaps affording them good counsel and advice, which though given with the best intention, yet failed of effect, because accompanied by no act, and too seldom coming recommended, by the example of the giver.

They have had, too, what I have no doubt they fully appreciate, the active sympathy and co-operation of woman. She was among the earliest pioneers in the cause of temperance; has ever been found its consistent and firm supporter; ever rallying to its standard with a new zeal to declare her interest in the great moral revolution of our day. So she rallied in the days of '76, and so will she be ever found ready to devote her time and her energies to the cause of truth and human freedom.

Almost all reforms are more or less impeded in their progress, by diversity of opinion among their advocates as to the best means of bringing about the desired result. The Temperance Reform has been remarkably free from difficulties of this description. They have still existed, however, to some extent, and I propose briefly to refer to the only one of sufficient magnitude to require especial notice. I allude to the often mooted subject of moral suasion, as it is called, as distinguished from legal, or what are termed coercive measures, for the suppression of Intemperance, and on this subject I have never been able to coincide fully in sentiment with some for whose opinions generally I entertain a high respect. It is to be remarked, that there are no doubt some who advocate the policy of trusting rather to the milder means of persuasion and entreaty, than to any reliance upon forcible measures, for suppressing intemperance, who would also say the same with reference to gambling, vending of lottery tickets, and other similar practices, either because they deny all authority on the part of a government founded in force, to control any of our actions, or for some other reason to them deemed satisfactory. With those holding such opinions I propose at this time no controversy. But I apprehend there are those in society who have an idea that although the usual subjects of police regulation are fit and proper subjects for the exercise of legal restraints, yet for some reason or other, the public vending of small quantities of ardent spirits does not come under the head of police regulation; that a law prohibiting such sale is an invasion, to some extent, of their rights as citizens, and that they are not called upon to exert their influence for the enforcement of

laws prohibiting such sale, which we have already upon our Statute Book. In reference to this view, my limits admit only a hasty and imperfect glance at a line of argument which can hardly fail to suggest itself to the minds of many who hear me.

Society is based on a concession, by each member of it, of certain rights which he might enjoy in a state of nature, in order that he may secure to himself certain other advantages which can only be enjoyed in an organized community; and it is one of the oldest, most fundamental and well established maxims of the common law, a system which has come down to us fraught with the intellectual wealth of a thousand years, which landed on Plymouth Rock with the Pilgrims in the Mayflower, and which constitutes the great body of the law under which we have since lived and flourished, that "every man shall so use his own that he do no injury to that of another."

Now the advocates of the suppression, by law, of the selling of ardent spirits, publicly, in small quantities, affirm that certain great evils are inflicted on society by such sale. It appears, say they, from documents furnished by the several towns to the Legislature of 1838, that to this traffic is to be directly traced three-fourths of all the poverty and four-fifths of all the crime in the Commonwealth; and having shown this they think they have made out a strong case for legal interference to stop such an enormous mass of wretchedness and crime and consequent expense, at its source.

It seems incumbent, then, on the objector, to show some one of these things, either that these evils are not the result of such sale, or that this business of retailing spirituous liquors, brings with it some counterbalancing good to the community, or that such laws as are called for would deprive the seller or the buyer of some right which they are entitled to enjoy as members of Society. Now it is not known that any attempt has been made to show that the evils above alluded to do not flow from the practice of which we are speaking, and to the extent asserted. The statistics referred to have never been disproved or controverted, and they show a higher proportion of pauperism and crime resulting from this sale than had ever been claimed by



the friends of temperance, who had still always been accused of exaggeration. Nor am I aware that an attempt has ever been made to prove the second proposition which I have stated, viz., that some corresponding advantage accrues to the public from this traffic, counterbalancing any mischiefs that may be attending it.

We come then to the third question, which is, does its prohibition by law violate any of the rights of the seller. The constitutionality of such a law has been affirmed by our highest legal tribunal, and on this decision we are bound to rest as conclusive upon the question at issue. And what right, we may inquire, can any man have to exercise any trade or profession that is deleterious in its effects upon the community around him? If he has such a right, where did he get it? The moment he becomes a party to the social compact he renounces all rights inconsistent with the general good, and those rights he can only re-acquire by the consent of the whole.

But a few years since, in a neighboring city, a young man was tempted to embezzle his master's property and lay it out in lottery tickets. His prizes, as usual, proved blanks. He was ruined; and, in a fit of desperation put an end to his existence. The public mind was shocked at the catastrophe, and called loudly for a law which was immediately passed, prohibiting, by severe penalties, the sale of lottery tickets; imposing on such sale a fine of two thousand dollars, and making it in some cases a State Prison offence. Yet, the vendors of those articles, have not, that I am aware of, been heard contending for any right to sell whatever may happen to be in their possession.

On the 307th page of the Revised Statutes, chapter 36, sections 7 and 8, we read as follows:

Sect. 7. Every hawker, pedlar, petty chapman, or other person, going from town to town or from place to place in the same town, either on foot or with a horse, or otherwise carrying to sell, or exposing to sale any goods, wares or merchandize, except as provided in the following section, shall forfeit a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars for every offence.

Sect. 8. Any person may go about as aforesaid selling and exposing to sale any fruits or provisions what-

ever, and also any goods, wares or merchandize, of the produce or manufacture of the United States, except indigo, feathers, playing cards, jewelry and essences.

Other and similar practices might be mentioned, some of which, in some situations and under some circumstances may be perfectly innocent, but which, owing to their dangerous tendency, when publicly indulged, society has determined shall be prohibited.

No man is allowed to keep on hand for sale more than a certain quantity of gunpowder—why? Because he thereby endangers the buildings and property of his neighbors. Are the morals of our Youth of less consequence than our houses and stores?

There are others who have rights in this matter. The father of a family has a right that his children shall not be exposed to the danger of becoming drunkards by temptations displayed at the corners of the streets, and he has a right to call for efficient laws for his protection.

With the exception of the constitutional argument which has been so often reiterated in our courts and declared by the Supreme Court of the State to be wholly insufficient, I have never heard a plea in favor of the right to exercise the calling of a public seller, by retail, of ardent spirits, that could bear the test of examination, or that was deserving a serious refutation.

Let us enquire, then, fourthly, if any rights of the purchaser are invaded by such laws as we have alluded to, and we shall find him standing on the same ground as the seller. It is doubtless convenient for him to purchase an article to which his inclination may prompt him in small quantities, to be consumed on the spot, but if he cannot do so without endangering the health and the morals of the community about him, and placing a temptation in the way of the young and unwary, is he to insist on his convenience as a right against the best interests of Society. The very statement of such a doctrine is its sufficient refutation.

Undoubtedly what a man purchases he may carry home and use as seems to him best, so far as the public is concerned. — It is not the province of the law to follow men into their retirement and inquire how they spend their time there. Its requirement is that each

one shall keep the peace and refrain from all practices injurious to the safety, morals and good order of the community in which he lives. Whether his conduct at home, as an individual only, be moral or immoral, whether he eats or drinks this thing or that thing, it is not for the law to inquire. To do so would be trenching on the more peculiar province of moral suasion. Laws of a purely sumptuary character, that is, regulating the articles of dress or food, or interfering with the private conduct of individuals, regarding them only as such, have justly been deemed odious.

The right and duty of society is to prevent, by legal enactment, those practices and crimes which endanger the safety and well being of the whole community, and to punish them for that reason only, and not because they are in themselves criminal or immoral. And it has been said that if a crime should be committed, though of the blackest dye, yet, if it could be shown that it could not, in its consequences, in any way affect society at large, it is not a proper subject for human legislation, and to punish it as such would be to assume the attributes of Him whose province alone it is to judge of the guilt or innocence of his creatures.

Society prohibits, and must prohibit, whatever is inconsistent with its own safety. The right of self-protection is the very condition of its existence. The duty of the citizen, then, is to submit to the law, while it is upon the Statute Book. If it is a bad or unconstitutional law, repeal it; but, while it exists, let no man plead as an excuse for breaking it, either the allurements of pleasure, the profits of his business, or even the necessity of gaining a livelihood.

This last plea, it is unnecessary to say is seldom made in good faith, and is hardly entitled to notice. That in this country a man is ever, under any circumstances, unable to get a living, except by violating the laws of the land, will not be very readily believed. That he may make great gains if he can be permitted to break with impunity the laws of his country, is often true. It is for the public to decide whether this excuse is sufficient, and whether any individual can be permitted to enrich himself at the expense of the morals, peace and good order of society and the open and scanda-

lous violation of those very laws intended for their protection.

It was the most natural thing for the Washingtonians of our neighboring city, in their early efforts, flushed with victory, and in the full tide of successful experiment, bearing down every thing before them, and in the fervor of sympathetic excitement piercing through with a force which nothing could withstand; the seven fold shield of Intemperance; subduing and melting the most stubborn wills, and wielding as it were some subtle electric or magnetic fluid which seemed at a touch to raise the very dead to life; it was natural for them, I say, to feel that they could dispense with all the machinery of the law.

Show us the men, said they, that is all we want. Bring the inebriate to us, or tell us where we can find him; we have something to reach him more potent than legislation. We can place him where his old haunts will no longer have any temptation for him; where he will no longer require legal enactment for his protection. And this, in many cases, was done; but the fact was too far overlooked that these very results, so surprising and unexampled, were yet only possible under a degree of excitement in which the human mind, from its very nature and constitution, cannot for any great length of time remain. Hence it was soon found that the retailers of ardent spirits were fast undoing what the Washingtonians had done—that the reformed Inebriates were not all able, after the first few weeks of excitement had gone by, to pass the open dram shop, filled with their old associates, the accustomed sounds of enticements falling upon their ear, without yielding to the temptation and again crossing the fatal threshold!

These very Washingtonians, instead of deprecating a resort to legal measures as formerly, are now calling loudly for that protection which the strong arm of the law can only afford against a thirst for gold more insatiable than that of intemperance itself, against a cupidity which no moral suasion or suasion of any other kind can reach, except the persuasion of force, of a power

which must be obeyed, and which says to each and all "so use your own that you injure not that of another."

I would not for a moment be understood to undervalue moral suasion, as it is called. I shall rejoice too at the time when all men shall become a law to themselves. I do not believe, however, that that time has yet arrived; but that we have many practices amongst us which require to be prohibited by legal enactment. I believe, too, that one great use of moral suasion is to bring the community up to the point at which they will see and feel the necessity of such prohibition, in relation to the subject we are considering.

It is but a few years, since gambling houses were licensed in one of the cities of our union. It is a moral power operating in that community that has shut them up. And I have yet to learn wherein the traffic I have spoken of forms an exception among other practices dangerous to the community, or rather why it is not of all others, perhaps, short of absolute crime, the fit and proper subject of legal prohibition. That society will come to take this view of it, I consider now only a question of time; and when moral suasion shall have brought the public mind fully, as it is now very nearly, up to this point, it will have performed, as it seems to me, one of its best works. Something permanent and tangible will then have been gained. Something that will outlive this temporary excitement, if such it is to be, that will serve as a mark to show how high have flowed the waves of this reform, and a safeguard to the citizen, long after the warning voices of the Washingtonians may have passed away.

About twenty years ago, a few individuals assembled in one of our school houses to take into consideration the expediency of forming a Temperance Society. Temperance was then a word of new and strange import. People had heard of it to be sure, all their lives in the weekly homilies of the pulpit, but the idea that it was to become a matter of personal every day concern, in relation to the use of intoxicating drinks, had hardly occurred to them. These men were looked upon by their neighbors, in the language of one who

was present, with great contempt, and received many intimations that they had better abandon their project. There were then twenty or thirty retailers of spirituous liquors in town, which people then believed, in the language of the Statute, that the public good required; and such was the surprise, at this new movement, that we might fancy the very old sideboards themselves, those sacred depositories of what were then deemed the necessities as well as the comforts of life, losing their usual ruddy complexions, and turning pale with indignation, at what seemed a threatened invasion of their domains. No one, to be sure, dreamed at that time, of total abstinence; but a ruthless arm was raised against those old familiar friends, Rum, Brandy and Gin, and it is no wonder that those engaged in this enterprize were well nigh borne down by the first rude shock of prejudice, based upon old customs, and long continued habits.

Pass over a few years, and what do we find. On the 30th of last month, might be seen, wending their way from all parts of the Commonwealth to its capital, thousands of pledged temperance men, pilgrims, as it were, going up to the great Jerusalem of their faith, to celebrate, in one great jubilee, the triumph of their cause, the cause, not of temperance only, as it was understood in those early days, but of total and entire abstinence from every thing that can intoxicate. Here, with banners flying, and to the sound of martial strains, marched a cold water army of ten thousand strong, with a total abstinence Governor of the Commonwealth at their head, and one hundred thousand sympathizing and delighted spectators for an escort. All business was suspended in and about this great centre of attraction, and the day given up to joyful congratulation and innocent hilarity.

Whence, we inquire, has come this great change in the public sentiment? While we have been sleeping this Jonah's gourd has grown up in the night, but not like that of old, we trust, to perish as speedily. What potent enchanter has waved over the scene his magic wand and so changed it to our wondering eyes. What

mighty magician has wrought this marvel in our sight. The potent enchanter is faith in man; faith in human nature. The mighty magician is Truth—a power which overcomes all resistance; which, in our day, far more than fleets or armies, is guiding and controlling the destiny of nations. The true lever by which the world is moved.

In view of these things, then, let no friend of the cause be disheartened, though a cloud may sometimes flit across its bright prospects. The moral atmosphere will become clear again as surely as the sun burns up and purges away those noxious vapours that at times bedim and obscure his glory.

Intemperance, though like the fabled many headed monster of old, may sometimes seem to have the power of protruding a new head where one has been stricken off, has yet received a blow from which it can never recover; a blow which requires but to be followed up by vigorous and well directed effort, to put a final termination to its existence, and rid us forever of its hateful presence.